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It is toward his fifteenth year that the beginning of the age of manhood is noticed, and with it, the boy starts to break free from family tutelage, giving his opinions and making decisions on his own account. This independence, as we have already had occasion to see, is linked to the complete handing over to him of his animals, as he is already well practiced in the matter of livestock care to which he has been accustomed since his early years. It is also linked to agricultural work done on his own account, since he can develop new land when the traditional family land becomes scarce owing to excessive subdivision or monopoly by some member or members.

However, although his independence has increased, his relatives consider they have the right to ask him to account for his actions and oblige him to assume a fixed line of conduct, because he must always circumscribe his conduct to the family norms. At sixteen his physical development affirms his desire for independence, and at seventeen, or even before, he accentuates his manly traits so as to give the impression that he is a man in every sense of the word, and he becomes a caricature of that: he drinks ostentatiously at family gatherings; quarrels with his elders, expressing his opinions in a loud voice, and lets his boastful and arrogant comments be heard; he exaggerates the actions in which he has taken part; he adopts extreme positions in the face of unalterable situations; he shows off in any danger, /60/ trying to convince others of his grown-up manly qualities. At the beginning he is admitted reluctantly into the men's gatherings, but this situation changes into one of acquiescence which becomes full acceptance as the measure of his personality becomes definitively delineated, and the boy is converted into a real economic force, until he fills a clear and definitive position in the family and social group.

This position of equilibrium is not reached until his twentieth year and in many cases not until the twenty-fifth, depending on personal qualities. And among all these extreme masculine attitudes that the youth adopts to establish his status

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885 as an adult man in his group, it is probably marriage which definitively gives him his passport of citizenship, if we may so express it, as this includes not only the biological act of a physical coming of age and its legal recognition, but it also carries with it an interesting social aspect in that the Guajiro who contracts marriage, if it is true that he then reaches the maximum expression of freedom, must, on his part, pay back in his behavior and usefulness to society some of what he possesses through it. In other words, his personality is definitively formed, and he is considered a member fully entitled to all rights, but with the obligation to comply fully with all those duties which up to that moment had been gradually meted out to him, according to his age.

583 885 And in order to marry, the man must comply with a series of social and legal requisites traditionally established, which lead him to contract long-term obligations with all his relatives and with society in general, obligations which restrain that freedom of action longed for in his youth and which constrain him to depend more and more on his family and the group. If, for example, he has had to ask for assistance in order to pay for his wife, he takes on as a result legal obligations with all his relatives and friends who helped him, obligations which will never end throughout his life. Upon getting married, furthermore, if it is true that he will be considered an able member capable of surviving economically by himself, the advice that his father gives him on handing over his livestock shows him that although he will have backing in the family, he must have recourse to all his forces in order to attend to his sustenance and the fulfillment of his matrimonial duties: "Now you are married and must make your own home; you have to be a different man from now on. You can't laze around but must carefully watch your animals and those of your wife and administer everything she has. You must put up the fence round your corn field to help maintain your wife and your children. You must be a man and not a lazybones now that you are married."

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583 The married man is the head of a new cell, and this im-
995 plies family and social obligations. These he must face up to as a head of a family under peril of loss of prestige and lowering of position. With the coming of children his position becomes more and more extended, as his duties and rights are becoming joined and broadened, for to the obligations of a husband are added those of a father. And these are further complicated on contracting marriages with new women, as then he has reached, according to the Guajiro way of thinking, the maximum development of his male personality.

Valuation of virginity and of the woman. The value of
581 the Guajiro woman is fixed by the marriage payment, that is to
582 say, it is the economic assessment of her worth. The conditions of this valuation, traditional among the upper classes (as the lower classes have lost them through socio-economic conditions which even influence those of some standing), may be summarized thus:

581 The physical qualities which make a Guajiro woman
832 desirable are those that comply with the traditional aesthetic norm and are those that the woman after her seclusion (Cf. Initiation of Young Women) makes every endeavor to acquire at any cost: tall stature, balanced by well distributed flesh which gives her an appearance of robustness and full-bodiedness, so that when walking decked out in her ample clothes, she has an appearance both elegant and majestic; wide and robust hips (probably with an unconscious biological end in mind, or a sexual one, or a combination of both); small and upright breasts, as the opposite is considered almost repulsive; and, above all, firm flesh. This last is probably the most desired quality, as the man openly confesses that when his woman over the years loses it, he replaces her by another one who has it. The shape of the legs has no importance, probably because with the full, long dress they are out of sight. In the main, they are thin in relation to the body and frequently bowlegged /?cascorvas/.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

upon to pay damages by their wives' clans if they do. They will give their sons cattle—sons do not inherit from their fathers—and these they have to look after themselves from the age of fifteen or sixteen. In the better families youths of this age are often rather wild, trying to imitate the older men, drinking more than they can take, being noisy and butting in when their elders are talking. The grown-ups take this quite calmly, pretending they are not there. 'They grow out of it,' they say.

The young men usually settle down when they marry. They must then stand on their own feet and assume family responsibilities.

We now had a much better idea of life in Guajira. As we slowly waded through the sand back to the mission station, Gladtvet said:

'One ought to ride on camels here.'

Perhaps the Indians ought to have had camels. That would have made another reason to call the peninsula the Arabia of South America.